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in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.

> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
>
> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

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By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]

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Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

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In contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive. The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to provide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil. The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegnation. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

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East Brazil SN1
South Brazil SM1

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

000 565 571 economic role is usually minor. The individual or the unit family of the lower class is usually linked very closely, mainly in the economic sense, with an employer or merchant of influence (patrão). In a society in which personal relationships ("connections") count for so much, only a member of the upper class can be of real economic or political assistance.

565 857 Childhood in the lower class is quite different from that in the upper class family. From an early age the children must, out of economic necessity, accept many responsibilities. Young children frequently work in the fields or find odd jobs in the town. The girls may do the housework, cook, and manage the younger children while the mother works. The young sons, even six or seven years old, may pack a bundle of agricultural products across the município on the morning of market day. In the evening they return with the few articles of food or clothing which they have been able to purchase with the proceeds from their goods. As they grow older, the children either undertake more of the farm work or drift off to the nearby rural areas and villages or to Salvador. The girls may find employment as servants or as agricultural or industrial workers. Ultimately [464] most will marry and settle down to a grinding life of poverty, child- [885] bearing, disease, and hard labor, which will, however, be relieved by an informal and highly convivial social life.

565 562 The position of the woman is still inferior to that of the man, but she has relatively greater economic, social, and sexual independence than the woman of the upper class.

565 776 The social life of lower class families is in marked contrast to the narrow, formal, and sexually-discriminatory social life of the aristocracy. Lower class life is filled not only with poverty but also with a tremendous series of religious and quasi-religious festivals

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 Demography of the Recôncavo. The discussion of the composition and distribution of the population in the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a basis for the study of agricultural phenomena. As such it is concerned with those population elements which are important in the production and distribution of agricultural products and in the servicing of the agricultural economy. The agricultural labor force is therefore the primary object of analysis, while the remaining population elements receive secondary consideration.

128 162 241 464 369 The population of the Recôncavo has been divided into two segments: (1) the rural population of the countryside and villages, which includes those engaged in direct agricultural production and those with a direct service or dependency relationship to agriculture; and (2) the urban population of the towns and cities, which has an indirect service or dependency relationship to agricultural production. (Table VI). The rural population has been subdivided in order to distinguish the agricultural labor force, consisting of those in direct agricultural production as workers or as administrators, from the service and dependent groups.[20] The accompanying table (Table VII) relates the area, total population, urban and rural population, and agricultural labor force of the 21 municipios of the Recôncavo.

241 464 [162] Agricultural Labor Force. Conceived in the narrowest sense, the basic human resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo consists of the energy and skill of 196,000 agriculturalists--the agriculture labor force (Table VIII). In census terminology these are people ten years old or over who consider their principal occupation as that of employer, employee, or worker in crop cultivation (agricultura), animal husbandry (pecuária), or silviculture. In the Recôncavo these people are primarily cultivators and operators of farms

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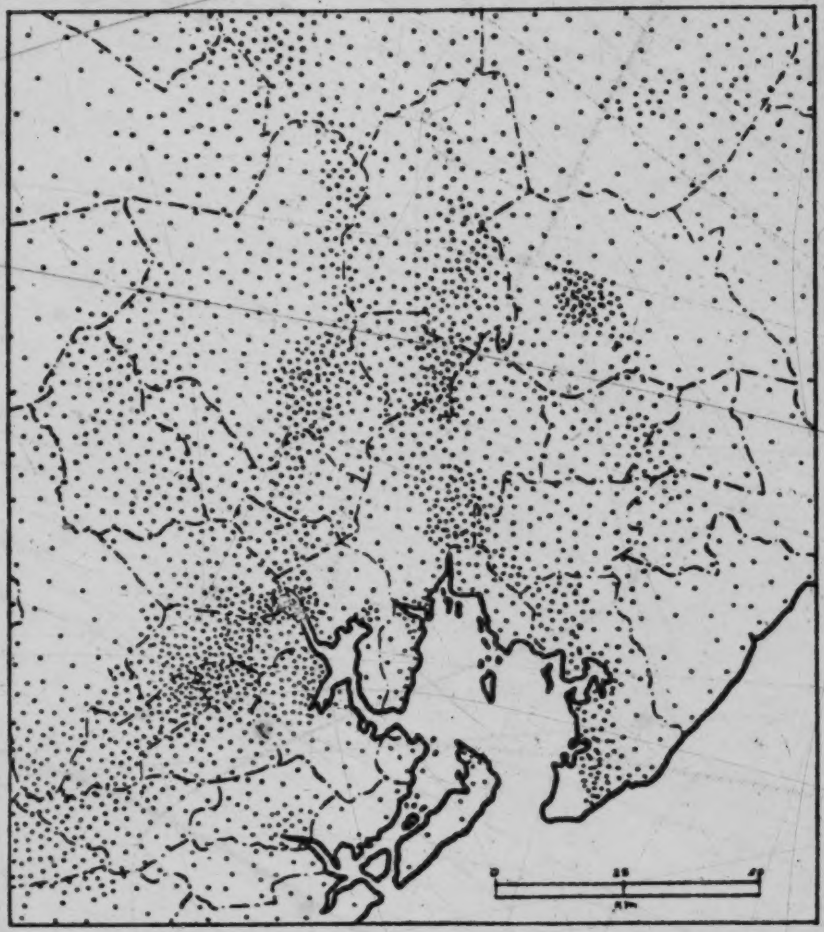

Each dot = 100 persons

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(Estimated)

Data estimated from Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia, Vol. I, and (for 1950 data) Annuario Estatistico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

MAP 17

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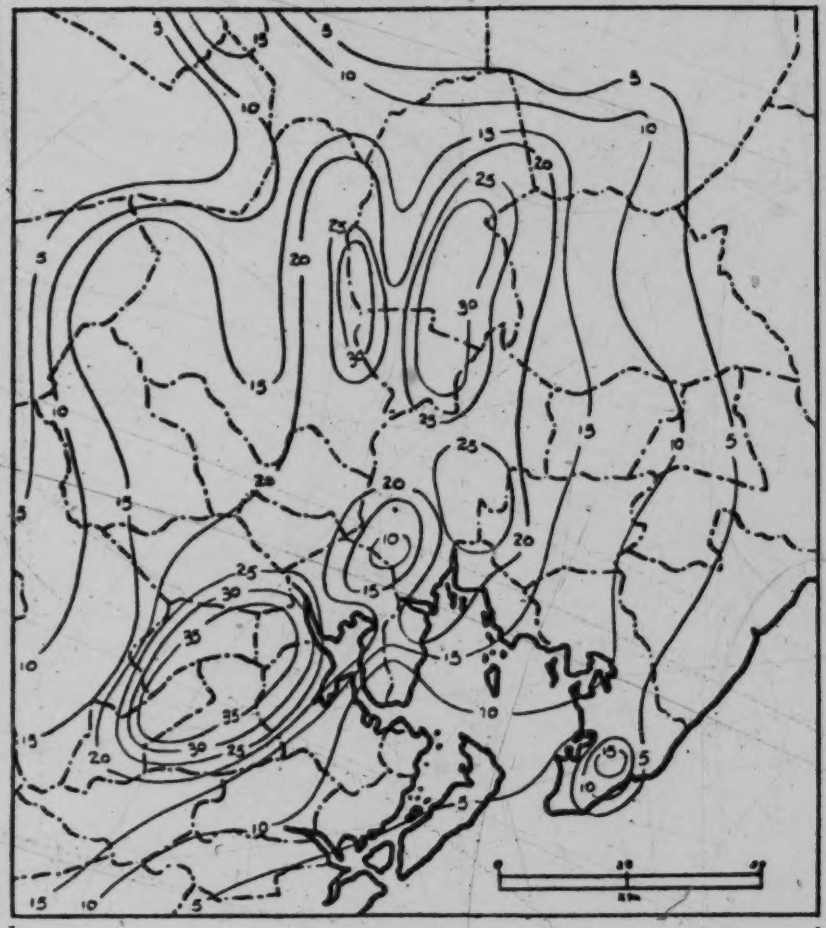

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Agricultural Labor Force per Square Kilometer of Total Area--1950
(estimated)

MAP 18

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

and plantations, and to a lesser extent, ranchers and vaquéiros (cowboys).[21] Silviculture is not an important occupation in the Recôncavo.

The mean density of the agricultural labor force for the Recôncavo was 15.7 per square kilometer. Since the distribution is very irregular, this mean density is far from representative of local situations--only six municípios had densities within 10 per cent of the mean. Because of the uneven distribution of cultivation, mean figures for individual municípios, especially the larger ones, are likely to be equally misleading. In the discussion which follows the gross distributions derived from census data have been modified on the basis of field observation and of inferences drawn from related demographic, cartographic, and agricultural information.[22]

The density of agricultural workers in the Central Recôncavo (Map 18) is appreciably higher than in the surrounding areas, except in the southwest. This central zone has densities in excess of 20 per square kilometer, and within it are four areas with densities in excess of 25 per square kilometer. Along the border of the Recôncavo, densities usually fall to 10 per square kilometer. However, this is not true of the more densely occupied "bridge" zone which connects the area of heavy concentration in the Recôncavo, south of the Rio Paraguaçu, with the "coffee area" to the southwest beyond the Recôncavo. The map of densities (Map 18) and the dot map (Map 17) of the agricultural labor force suggest that this population segment is clustered in areas which generally have an eccentric location in relation to such centers as Salvador and the Baía de Todos os Santos.

Over 20 per cent of the agricultural workers of the Recôncavo live along the southern, western, and northern extremes of the region,

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

every section of which is more than 50 kilometers from Salvador, the economic center of the Recôncavo, and also more than 50 kilometers from the geometric center in Santo Amaro. If a line were drawn from the cidade of Alagoinhas southwestward to the cidade of Nazaré, the following municípios would fall entirely west of that line: Irará, Coração de Maria, Feira de Santana, São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira, and Santo Estêvão--all north of the Rio Paraguaçu--and Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, São Félix, São Filipe, and Conceição do Almeida--all south of the Rio Paraguaçu. These 11 of the 21 municípios of the Recôncavo are all more than 50 kilometers from Salvador--all are much farther in terms of land transport. In these eleven municípios live 125,000 of the 196,000 agricultural workers. In part, this eccentricity with respect to Salvador is a result of the shape of the land surface, with the city located at the end of a peninsula. Only one of these 11 municípios, São Félix, lies on tide water, and that at the extreme upper limit of navigation. The others are so arranged that they cannot make optimum use of the central position of the Bay, with its relatively cheap and direct route into the capital.

This eccentrically located belt is arcuate in form. It is the demographic representation of the transition zone from forest to scrub forest, which is often also the transition from the Coastal Plain to the Tabular or Crystalline Uplands. The concentration of agricultural labor in this belt is obviously significant from many points of view: social and political as well as economic.

Clustering is a characteristic pattern of Latin American population. The Recôncavo is the chief population cluster and the greatest single concentration of agricultural labor force within the state of

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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Bahia. The broad cluster of the agricultural labor force is composed of several major zones of concentration and two minor agglomerations.

(1) The Southwestern Concentration: The most important of these concentrations, in terms of total number of agriculturalists, occupies the southwestern corner of the Recôncavo. This concentration is a major segment of the eccentric belt discussed above. It is located [131] in the Crystalline Uplands and the Intermediate Hills, along the drainage divide between the Rio Paraguaçu and the Rio Jaguaripe. This is an area of tobacco and manioc cultivation. There are some 35,000 agriculturalists in this concentration, which spreads over approximately 1,000 square kilometers in six municípios—São Félix, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Maragogipe. The cidade of Cruz das Almas lies very near its center.

TABLE IX

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS—SOUTHWESTERN CONCENTRATION

[634]

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
São Felix	São Felix	2,568
	Outeiro Redondo	1,724
Muritiba	Muritiba	3,044
	Cabeças	1,699
Cruz das Almas	Cruz das Almas	6,038
	Sapé	1,845
	Baixa do Palmeira	1,476
Conceição do Almeida	Conceição do Almeida	3,878
	Comércio	2,038
São Filipe	São Filipe	4,931
	Cararipe	2,471
Maragogipe	Guapira	1,169
	Nagé	788
	Coqueiras	1,072
Approximately 1,000 square kilometers		34,741

With about 12 per cent of the Recôncavo's total area, the southwestern concentration includes 18 per cent of its agricultural labor force. In its core there are over forty agriculturalists per [634] square kilometer (the município of São Félix as a whole has 42.05 per square kilometer), and this compact core includes São Félix, northern

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 São Filipe, northern Conceição do Almeida, southeastern Cruz das Almas,
162 and the southeastern tenth of Muritiba.
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The boundaries of this concentration are similar to the boundaries of labor concentrations in other parts of the western Recôncavo. To the southeast the density of the cluster declines sharply across the Intermediate Hills. There are very few fields and few farmers along the estuary of the Paraguaçu, which lies beyond the hills. Much of
311 this land is in forest. To the west the decline in density is even more abrupt. In the dry caatinga beyond the western limits of Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Conceição do Almeida there are only a few scattered ranchers and small-scale farmers.

From the core of the concentration the distribution of agricultural workers continues to be relatively dense toward the north and toward the southwest, and this pattern extends across the "bridge" zone and into the coffee area beyond the Recôncavo. Just beyond the Recôncavo, in the middle of the "bridge," is the city and suburban zone of Santo Antônio de Jesus, which has a minor cluster of agricultural workers. The "bridge" follows the forest and scrub-forest transition.

161 (2) The Northern Concentration: Though the northern and
162 central clusters of the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241 are less well defined and individually less important than the
464 southwestern cluster, they are major concentrations. In the northern
131 Recôncavo a series of clusters extending through eastern Feira de Santana, Irará, and Coração de Maria are grouped in a rough "u-shaped" pattern. This concentration is the second major element of the eccentric belt of dense agricultural labor. The verticals of the "u" follow agricultural belts along the valleys of two tributaries of the (eastern) Rio Pojuca. This is a zone of Tabular Upland and caatinga vegetation.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

Because it does not correspond to census divisions, it is difficult to determine the area and population of this "u" zone. Apparently it has about 1,150 square kilometers and about 30,000 agricultural workers (Table X). Maximum densities within this zone are 30 to 40 per square kilometer.

TABLE X

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--NORTHERN CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Feira de Santana	Feira de Santana	9,840
	Tiquaruçu	1,725
Coração de Maria	Coração de Maria	4,176
	Itacava	4,332
Irará	Irará	4,130
	Bento Simões	1,675
	Pedrão	2,454
	Ouriçangas	2,683
Approximately 1,150 square kilometers		31,015

The "u-shaped" zone is linked with the southwestern cluster by a belt of moderate population density. This belt, running north to south along the caatinga-forest transition, is followed by the Feira de Santana-Cachoeira railroad.

(3) The Central Concentration: The central concentration of agricultural labor, in east-central Santo Amaro, western São Sebastião, and São Francisco--the sugar cane zone, is not a part of the eccentric belt discussed above, but rather lies in the heart of the Recôncavo. There are about 6,000 agriculturalists in the 300 square kilometers of this area. The maximum density is about 25 per square kilometer. In distinction to the concentrations discussed above, the central cluster is in the lowlands--the humid Coastal Plain. (see Table XI).

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE XI

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS--CENTRAL CONCENTRATION

Município	Distrito	Agricultural Workers 1950
Santo Amaro	Rio Fundo	1,849
	Inhatá	1,542
	Mata de Aliança	920
São Sebastião	Jacuípe	1,036
São Francisco	São Francisco	804
	Santa Elisa	176
Approximately 300 square kilometers		6,327

(4) The Minor Agglomerations: Minor concentrations of agriculturalists surround two urban centers in the Recôncavo: Salvador and Alagoinhas. Most of the 12,000 agricultural workers in the município of Salvador are grouped either in the northeast--close to the central cluster of the sugar cane zone--or around the capital city. The latter either live in the city or in the sub-urban areas around and between the various urban segments. These sub-urban cultivators primarily work to supply the large urban market. Alagoinhas lies in the midst of relatively unproductive taboleiros. The agriculturalists who serve its urban market and produce its chief commercial crop--oranges--are gathered compactly in a symmetrical ring around the city.

The concentrations discussed above account for some 80,000 (41 per cent) of the agricultural workers and 3,150 square kilometers (25 per cent) of the area of the Recôncavo. In general, a straight line from the southwestern tip of Conceição do Almeida to the southern tip of Serrinha is the western limit of moderately dense distribution of the agricultural labor force. Beyond this line, in the caatinga of Feira de Santana and Castro Alves, there are few agricultural workers. However, in the caatinga of the município of Santo Estêvão and the adjacent part of Feira de Santana there is a zone with a population density of about 15 per square kilometer--higher than anywhere

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

else along the western border. This modest concentration, scarcely a cluster, represents the sum of a number of small agricultural settlements scattered along the humid slopes of low serras. There are about 12,000 agricultural workers distributed over this area.

The distributional pattern of the rest of the Recôncavo can be visualized as a coarse net in which the clusters are linked by areas with population densities of 10 to 20 per square kilometer. There is one large hole in this connecting net: along the common border of Cachoeira, São Gonçalo, and Santo Amaro there is a zone with less than ten and sometimes less than five agricultural workers per square kilometer. This zone, very near to the center of the Recôncavo, for the most part is an area of rough sandy hills bordering the crystalline--here the hills are particularly rugged and the transition zone broad. On three sides--southwest, north, and northeast--this sparsely settled zone is bordered by important clusters of agriculturalists.

The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is, as has been seen, irregularly distributed. This distribution is highly fluid--movement and growth and decline are continuously altering the pattern. The whole region gained about 6,500 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950, but these statistics do not reflect the extent of local relocation.

In the central Recôncavo one município, Santo Amaro, lost almost 6,000 agricultural workers between 1940 and 1950, and in three municípios of the central and eastern Recôncavo, Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and Pojuca, losses exceeded 20 per cent. On the other hand, in three municípios of the uplands of the northern and northwestern Recôncavo--Alagoinhas, Feira de Santana, and Santo Estêvão--there were gains of over 20 per cent. Over all, twelve municípios gained and nine lost agriculturalists; the mean change in the agricultural labor

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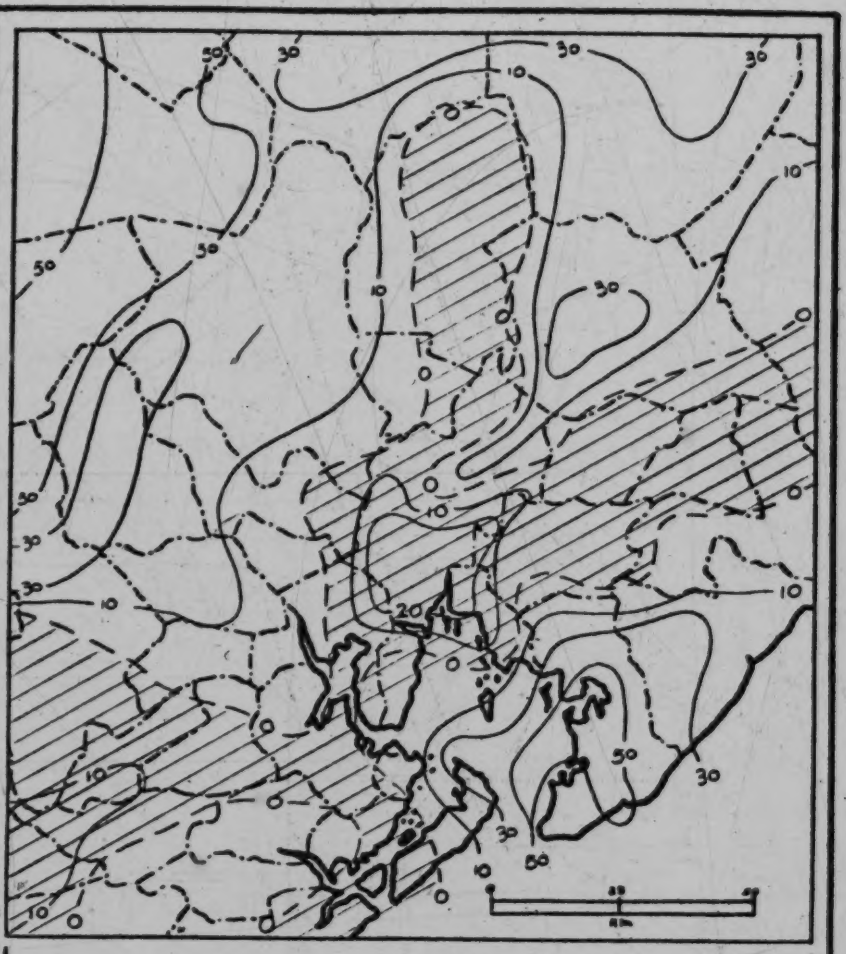

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Change in the Agricultural Labor Force (Estimated)

and in the Rural Population from 1940 to 1950

Shaded area shows zone of loss of agricultural labor force.

MAP 19

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161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
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241 13 per cent.
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In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

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In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural concomitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon—the flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone—Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

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Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"

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agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from secas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

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Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

> The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

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> shift about from place to place. In few nations are such large proportions of the rural people, who in turn are three fourths of all people, so constantly on the move.[23]

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In the Recôncavo this shifting is like a game of musical chairs, in which the odd participant, probably thinking himself lucky, goes to Salvador. The exchange of places occurs on many levels: there is movement from plantation to plantation within the sugar zone, even between plantations operated by the same usina.[24] Many agricultural workers shift from one to another of the various agricultural zones within the Recôncavo.[25] These shifts of population in the Recôncavo primarily involve the agricultural laborers, share croppers, and tenant farmers. The landowners move only under the strongest pressure, and the upper class landowners are as immobile as the lower classes are migratory. However, these landowners compose only a small part of the agricultural labor force.

Another fluid element in the agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo is seasonal labor.

> Itinerant seasonal agricultural labor has for a long time been an important element in the sugar zones of the Northeast where at harvest time many of the cane cutters come from the "agreste" or even from the "sertao" into the "mata" zone.[26]

The principal source of this seasonal labor for the Recôncavo is the small farmer class of the sertão of Bahia north of the Rio Paraguaçu and east of the Chapada Diamantina. These workers are males, exclusively; the number involved is not known, but it is probably on the order of 5,000. Some sertanejos return again and again to the same fazenda or usina; others change their place of employment from year to year. They all return to the sertão at the beginning of the wet season to plant gardens for their families and to harvest cotton and other crops.

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241 [464] The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used [249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used [407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in cultivation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood. The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous--manioc, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the prevailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 178 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new, radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this [181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo, like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or improved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be [212] resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of producing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

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241 As has been shown, the 196,000 agricultural workers in the
464 Recôncavo in 1950 formed a relatively distinct cluster within Bahia.
[131] These workers were concentrated especially in an arcuate belt near the western and northern frontiers, in the sub-urban zone of the larger cities, and in the central sugar zone. They were in complex motion, the net result of which was to reduce, in the decade 1940 to 1950, the agricultural labor force in the Central Recôncavo and to increase the labor force near the cities and along the western frontier. The labor force generally is adequately skilled for the agricultural tasks of the present system, but its tolerance for new ideas is
[461] limited. The agricultural workers can work cheerfully and hard, but usually do so only with frequent interruptions, and the individual level of energy is low.

162 Rural Population. The agricultural labor force of the Recôncavo
241 is a functionally but not residentially distinct segment of a larger
464 population assemblage, the rural population. Rural population, as
463 used here, includes not only the people of the countryside but also the village and town dwellers of all settlements without industrial establishments.[28] Although this assemblage can be defined in approximate residential terms as a rural population, it is considered here primarily as a functional grouping which includes agricultural workers and elements of all other major occupational groups except industrial workers. In this overwhelmingly agricultural society the associations of the non-agricultural occupational groups of the rural area with agriculture are of primary economic importance and compelling personal interest. While most of the agricultural workers are rural in the strictest sense, living in the countryside and on the fringes of the villages, towns, and cities, many others live within the small and

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162 some in large urban centers. On the other hand, occupational groups
241 sometimes considered to be urban--shopkeepers, for example--may have
464 residences and places of business in the countryside. Thus it is not
463 possible to differentiate occupational groups precisely on the basis of residence.[29]

162 In 1950 the rural population of the Recôncavo, as defined here,
241 included 578,508 people. This assemblage represented about 54 per cent
464 of the total population of the Recôncavo. Its distribution was broadly but not precisely comparable to that of the agricultural labor force, as will be seen.

162 The agricultural labor force, which has been discussed above,
241 composes 34 per cent of the rural population. The remaining 66 per
464 cent will be called the "service segment" of the rural population.
463 This segment is composed primarily of the following elements: merchants, tradesmen, and speculators who buy agricultural products and supply the simple needs of the agriculturalists; indirect service groups such as financial agents, public administrators, and transport workers; and minors and dependent women.[30] All of these are directly or indirectly dependent upon the agricultural economy. This dependency is, of course, mutual: the farmer of the Recôncavo is, at least partially, a commercial agriculturalist who must market his products in order to purchase food and clothing. However, the agriculturalist is the primary producer; the service segment basically is auxiliary to the agricultural economy.

241 The map (Map 20) of the service segment relative to the agri-
463 cultural labor force reveals several significant contrasts. In the
464 [162] outer Recôncavo--from the southwest corner around the periphery to the northeast--the service segment is from 1.5 to 2.0 times the agricultural labor force. As will be seen, this is the zone of tobacco

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TABLE VII

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	% of Area of Recôncavo	% of Total Population of Recôncavo	% of Urban Population of Recôncavo	% of Rural Population of Recôncavo	% of Agricultural Labor Force of Recôncavo
Alagoinhas	12	5	4	5	6
Cachoeira	3	3	2	3	2
Catu	3	2		3	3
Conceição da Feira	1	1		2	2
Conceição do Almeida	2	2	1	4	5
Coração de Maria	2	2		4	4
Cruz das Almas	2	3		4	5
Feira de Santana	17	10	5	14	15
Irará	11	4		8	10
Itaparica	2	2		4	1
Maragogipe	3	3	2	5	4
Muritiba	3	3	2	4	4
Pojuca	3	1		1	1
Salvador	6	39	79	5	6
Santo Amaro	9	8	2	13	10
Santo Estêvão	6	3		5	6
São Felix	1	1	1	2	2
São Filipe	3	2		4	5
São Francisco	2	1		2	1
São Gonçalo	4	3	1	5	4
São Sebastião	4	2		4	3

Calculated from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 and Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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TABLE VIII

AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1940 AND 1950

Município	1940 Agricultural Labor Force	Per cent of Change 1940-1950*	1950 Agricultural Labor Force—Estimated
Alagoinhas	8,922	25	11,152
Cachoeira	4,367	- 3	4,236
Catú	5,395	- 5	5,125
Conceição da Feira	3,132	7	3,351
Conceição do Almeida	10,066	- 7	9,361
Coração de Maria	8,205	3	8,451
Cruz das Almas	8,763	6	9,289
Feira de Santana	26,140	16	30,322
Irará	19,920	- 2	19,522
Itaparica	1,379	10	1,517
Maragogipe	7,513	2	7,663
Muritiba	8,959	15	10,303
Pojuca	2,575	-31	1,777
Salvador	7,697	57**	12,075**
Santo Amaro	25,566	-23	19,686
Santo Estêvão	9,315	20	11,178
São Félix	4,086	6	4,331
São Filipe	10,327	- 2	10,120
São Francisco	2,373	-22	1,851
São Gonçalo	8,872	- 4	8,517
São Sebastião	6,395	4	6,651
Recôncavo	189,967		196,468

*Calculated change in rural population from 1940 to 1950. It has been assumed that the agricultural labor changed at the same rate as the rural population.

**Because of a change in the method of totaling the non-urban population of Salvador, it was not possible to derive the 1940-1950 rural population change in the usual manner. The 1950 figure is the mean of three estimates of increase derived from total population change 1940-1950, rural quadrant change 1940-1950, and per cent of total population in agriculture 1940 projected to 1950. These estimates were, in order, 11,097, 12,517, and 12,700. The rural quadrant is a statistical subdivision of the município which does not necessarily include all the rural areas.

Source: Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censo Demográfico--Bahia, Vol. I, and Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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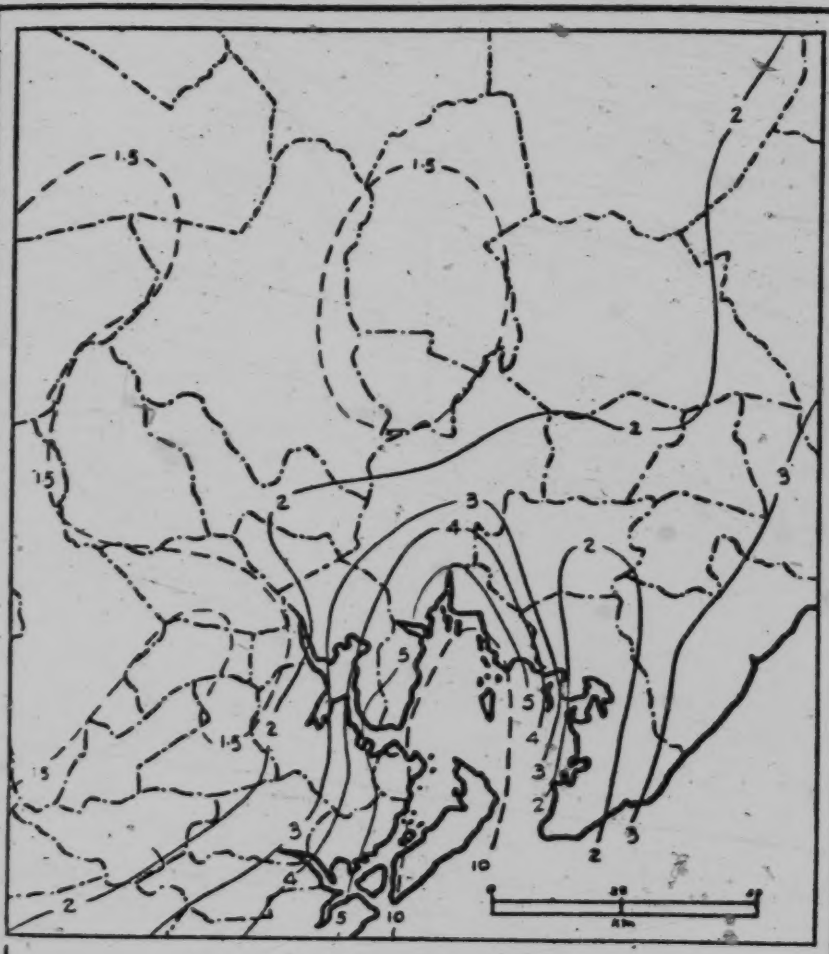

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Ratio of the "Service Segment" of the Rural Population

to the Agricultural Labor Force--1950

(estimated)

MAP 20

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241 and manioc production. While there is some processing of agricultural
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464 products in this zone, the trade centers primarily are local, and there have been few historical reasons for urban development.

463 Around the Bay the relative size of the service segment increases
433 to five, even to ten times the agricultural labor force. In this
241 area there are some alternative productive pursuits, fishing and charcoal burning, for example. The definition given for the "service segment" is less appropriate in this zone: the fishermen, for example, render their service primarily to the major urban centers rather than to the agriculturalists. Moreover, there is a large parasitic group, especially in the sugar zone. The decline and rationalization of the sugar industry have left an unproductive class living in waning state but still supported by the agricultural economy. The sugar industry, which is more efficiently organized than other agricultural enterprises in the Recôncavo, probably is better able to support parasitic elements.

464 In addition to providing services, the service segment is the
241 local labor reserve for agriculture. The extent of the reserve depends not only on the size of the service segment, but also on its composition. For example, in the western and northern areas of the Recôncavo, where two-fifths of the people are agricultural laborers, perhaps an additional one-fifth consists of small children and the aged and infirm. If those who perform essential services, basic to the economy, are deducted from the remaining two-fifths, few are left for a labor reserve. Fortunately the tobacco-manioc economy of the Recôncavo has little need for seasonal labor, and long-term labor needs, in theory at least, can be filled from the sertão.

464 In the sugar cane zone and on the Bay margins the general labor reserve is larger. However, this reserve is drawn upon by the labor

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464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the
Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has
[565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 241 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small. In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 369 433 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo, 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agricultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 162 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia. In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total population of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia, or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population. Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

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The other urban centers of the Recôncavo:

	1950 Population
Maragogipe	9,744
Muritiba	7,452
Cruz das Almas	6,758
São Gonçalo	3,771

are all local trade and cigar manufacturing centers. Maragogipe is a port of minor importance.[37] The other urban centers have inland locations, near the inner edge of the Crystalline Uplands.[38]

Near the Recôncavo are four urban centers which have minor but appreciable effect upon its agricultural economy:

	1950 Population
Santo Antônio de Jesus	11,417
Nazaré	11,215
Castro Alves	6,479
Serrinha	4,602

Santo Antônio de Jesus and Nazaré are located along the southern periphery of the Recôncavo, and Castro Alves and Serrinha on the southwestern and northwestern periphery, respectively. All these centers are on one of Bahia's two main railroads, both of which terminate at the Bay--at Salvador or at São Roque do Paraguaçu.[39]

In 1950 the nine major urban centers of the Recôncavo had 100,000 to 120,000 workers in industry, transportation, and merchandising.[40] In all cities of the Recôncavo, except Salvador, the industrial workers almost exclusively were engaged in processing agricultural products--in sugar refining, cigar manufacturing, and slaughtering. Except for some of the animals slaughtered in Feira de Santana and the poorer grades of tobacco brought in from the sertão, these agricultural products originate in the Recôncavo.

The industrial structure of Salvador is more complex. It processes agricultural products from the Recôncavo, but also from other parts of the state, notably cacao. There is a small textile industry. It is probable that the majority of the industrial workers are employed in numerous small service industries which supply Salvador

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BB 633 464 433 and, to a lesser extent, the rest of the Recôncavo and the state. The relatively large and affluent upper class of Salvador utilizes an extravagantly large number of domestics and of industrial workers--in food, clothing, and construction industries.

BB 178 181 433 161 B BB 161 162 Conclusion. The preservation of traditional values among the people of the Recôncavo is evidence of the survival value of their conservative culture, but the relatively slow growth of the population is indicative of a declining economic role in the nation. Although the population of both Brazil and the Recôncavo grew between 1940 and 1950, Brazil's population increased 26.5 per cent, the Reconcavo's only 16 per cent. In Brazil as a whole, urban populations increased 46 per cent, in the Recôncavo only 34 per cent. The rural population of Brazil increased by 17 per cent; the approximately comparable figure for the Recôncavo was 4 per cent.

Within the Recôncavo the net effect of population changes in the decade 1940 to 1950 was the reduction in rural population from 60 per cent to 54 per cent of the total population (see Table XII). BB 161 162 241 464 Even more serious, from the agricultural point of view, was the decline in the relative number of agricultural workers. Despite the influx of agricultural people from the sertão, the percentage of the total population in the agricultural labor force fell from 21 per cent (1940) to 18 per cent (1950).

BB 633 [162] The greatest single concentration of population in the Recôncavo is the city of Salvador. One-third of the people of the region live in this predominant city, occupying the tip of the peninsula which separates the Baía de Todos os Santos from the sea. In this eccentric peninsular location, Salvador is relatively distant from the main centers of agricultural production and has only circuitous land

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TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 o/o	40 o/o	60 o/o	21 o/o
1950	100 o/o	46 o/o	54 o/o	18 o/o
Change		+ 6 o/o	- 6 o/o	- 3 o/o
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 o/o	34 o/o	4 o/o	3 o/o
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 o/o	84 o/o	16 o/o	4 o/o

connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brazil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern, and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentration on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo, the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane cultivation in the Recôncavo.

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241 464 "Falta de braços"--lack of labor--is a problem much discussed in the Recôncavo. The landholders, merchants, and agronomists interviewed in the region almost invariably complained of the shortage of agricul- [461] tural workers or renters. At the same time, the level of per capita productivity of most agricultural labor remains low, and, as will be seen, there have been few attempts at improvement of agricultural techniques. Neither is there any apparent trend toward higher wages or higher returns on rented properties, which might attract more people to the area. The complaints of labor shortages must be viewed in the context of the systems of production and the economic organization of agriculture, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

241 464 161 162 433 Several basic agricultural problems are prefigured in the analysis of the distribution of the population of the Recôncavo. The concentration of agricultural people in the western and northern municípios of the region corresponds, as will be shown, to a major area of agricultural production. Since this is also an area of marginal and irregular precipitation, it is almost inevitable that the level of production must be uneven and the lives of the agriculturalists unstable. The declining agricultural population of the Central Recôncavo is a symptom of the declining importance of the sugar economy, discussed previously, and of the centralization and rationalization currently under way. The alternating zones with high and low densities of population indicate the nuclear and separate character of the areas of agricultural production, detailed in the pattern of crop regions to be discussed in the chapters which follow.

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245 311 Within the Recôncavo coconut production is important along the sandy beach line of the island of Itaparica and along the ocean coast of Salvador, where coconuts are virtually the only agricultural product [133] (Maps 58, 59, and 60). The inner shores of the Bay, which rise abruptly [134] with rocky clay slopes, bear very few coconuts, except in a low-lying sandy zone along the estuary of the Paraguaçu. Coconuts are produced 245 [423] chiefly on large properties which are frequently owned by urban families. [464] The plantations are operated with hired labor drawn from the coastal [438] population. When harvested, the coconuts are sold in the urban markets [258] of Salvador and other cities and towns. Very little of the Recôncavo [439] production is converted into oil, and little is exported.

Oranges. The navel orange is a Bahian development, a mutation [433] of the orange brought from Europe. The main centers of Brazilian production, however, are elsewhere in the country, and cultivation of oranges within the Recôncavo is primarily for local consumption.

245 311 Scattered orange trees are a feature of the rural and urban landscape in many areas. In addition to this generalized cultivation, which frequently is not shown in the official data, there is commercial production in the environs of several urban centers—Alagoinhas, Santo Antônio, and to a lesser extent, Salvador (Maps 61 and 62). The [489] [443] cidades of Alagoinhas and Santo Antônio are both markets for part of the local crop; moreover, both are on the railroads leading to Salvador, which is the chief market for the entire region. In addition to these three main concentrations, there are numerous orange groves in the Southwestern Recôncavo which apparently serve both local and regional markets, though on a small scale. In general the relative area in orange groves is not great, yet in 1948 they occupied 10 per cent of the cropland of Alagoinhas.

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249 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and
471 the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other
178 sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land,
471 transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hier-
489 archy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. In dry weather the
[492] sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through
[493] the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the in-
249 dustry. Another important administrative problem for the industry is
464 labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the op-
249 eration of the mill is curtailed. The scope of operation of the usina
471 may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

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258 but also because the manioc roots are too heavy and bulky to be transported over long distances. Moreover, the market for farinha de mandioca [438] is generally local, except in the Southwestern Recôncavo.

258 The capital investment in a casa de farinha is small, usually 471 less than one hundred dollars, but this sum is far beyond the reach of [454] most cultivators. The mills are built by owners of medium-sized land holdings or local merchants, and are operated on a share basis. The mill owner usually receives one-tenth of the finished product in exchange [427] for the use of the mill equipment. The customer rents the equipment [464] rather than the service and must therefore provide the labor, although [592] the owner usually furnishes one or two workers. Generally the processing [462] of manioc is a family operation in which the women and girls scrape the roots and the men and boys perform the more arduous tasks.

277 Most of the tobacco which is grown in the Recôncavo is exported [439] in the form of leaf. Therefore, the processing of tobacco is less important in relation to the cultivation of tobacco than is the processing of manioc and sugar in relation to their respective cultivation. The leaf tobacco which is retained in the area is made into cigars in home industries and in a number of cigar factories. The home-produced cigars are made by tobacco cultivators and small-scale processors in the villages, towns, and cities of the region. These cigars are generally [443] very cheap and are sold in the local mercado (market) or in small vendas (shops). It is difficult to assess the total importance of this form of processing, but it seems likely that the number of cigars so made is extremely large.

277 The cigar factories of the Recôncavo are located in the cidades of São Gonçalo, Muritiba, Cruz das Almas, and Maragogipe. Each of the [464] factories employs from 100 to 200 workers, usually women from the surrounding area. Machines are used to produce the cheaper grades;

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of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than manioc.

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer [407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of [492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought [231] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found [233] in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small [471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas [178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the [497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are [489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in [505] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities [438] [439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class [565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are [471] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The [472] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane [464] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force [178] of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes from the interior sertão of Bahia.

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233 In the surrounding sertão livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

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443 The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the sertão.

BB
241 Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, and there is a constant falta de braços, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia—and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

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128 241 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation system; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 471 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the commercial economy of the Recôncavo and for the last century it has continued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural development. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its [565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff, the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, transportation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good political connections and government support. A part of the industry, [242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechanization.

249 471 433 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 ton. Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite [464] [178] [466] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

These houses (solares, or sobrados) were enormous, constructed of stone and mortar, with wooden floors and ceilings. Stone and wood were themselves a sign of wealth, since it was necessary to bring them from a great distance. The furniture was often of handworked rosewood. Affluence was especially shown in table service of silver, porcelain, and crystal, most of which was imported from Europe. Members of the families frequently dressed in fine damask silks and were adorned with fine jewelry of gold and precious stones. It was not unusual for the plantation master to dress a few of his favorite slaves almost as well as his family and to parade them to church as an indication of his wealth. Another method of demonstrating wealth was the support of churches, especially that of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans.

The plantation master eventually lost his prominence. When the capital of the colony was moved from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 he was no longer so politically powerful, except locally, for there was too much distance between him and the new capital. Transportation was poor and communication still poorer. Also, other crops--namely coffee, cotton, rubber, and finally cacao--became more valuable than sugar. The abolition of slavery in 1888 was the final blow to the power of the plantation master.

It was usually admitted that the greatest wealth or source of wealth of the plantation master was his slaves. At first the Portuguese colonists tried to enslave the Indians and put them to work on the sugar plantations, but the Indians sickened and died off easily. There was also great opposition, on the part of the Jesuits, to the enslavement of Indians. The importation of African slaves seemed to be the solution. From the middle of the sixteenth century until about the middle of the nineteenth century ships plied back and forth from Bahia to the west coast of Africa, carrying tobacco, leather, and rum to be traded for slaves. The African slave always brought a higher price in the market in Bahia than did the Indian slave. It was considered that a normal plantation or mill of a thousand acres needed approximately two hundred slaves, divided among the fields, the mill, the various skills, and the house of the owner. In the nineteenth century the procurement of slaves became increasingly difficult as a result of European, North American, and even Brazilian opposition to slavery. In the mid-nineteenth century the slave trade was officially prohibited and the traffic became clandestine. The prices of slaves soared at this

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struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

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2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

2: Hutchinson E-4,6 (1950-1981) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
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4. Plantation Life

* 249 198 THE GOLDEN AGE of the sugar industry was typified by the plantation complex, which was accompanied by a definite way of life. The final breakdown of this complex came at the end of the nineteenth century with the creation of the large central mill. Changes in the agricultural practices, however, have only begun to take place. Almost all the emphasis of change in the past was placed on the development of the technical aspects of processing the cane, and very little attention was given to the agricultural side of the industry.

* 249 361 178 • [464] Modern plantations continue to be relatively self-sufficient units, just as the engenhos were. The factories brought almost no change in the land settlement patterns of the area. Since they were established on the site of former plantations, they did not create new nuclei; rather, they simply enlarged the old centers. Some of the former slave population moved to those factories which needed more workmen. But in subsequent years there was a gradual resettlement of the former slaves on the old plantations, in the same locations and even at times in the same buildings.

The disappearance of the small smokestacks of many plantation mills and the appearance of the more widely scattered but far larger ones of the factories, together with the appearance of networks of narrow gauge railways radiating out from the factories, mark the major changes in the landscape of the Recôncavo. The outlines of the new plantations and their boundaries remain much the same as they were a hundred or more years ago. The former small mills are frequently still used as workshops and sheds for the oxcarts.

600 The following discussion will examine one of the five pri-

the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

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lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house.

A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of the plantation, but who are not residents, are the caatinguejros (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which borders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north). Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest season, a time when not only the plantations but the factories as well need more men than the resident population provides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants from the north. A system has grown up whereby each plantation and factory has a man who can contact these migrant laborers. This man is called the empreiteiro, a contractor who has a system of contacts in the north usually through family and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on the plantation payroll. It is the empreiteiro who contracts with the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which must be done constantly but which at harvest time the resident workers cannot do. On the list of jobs and wages, above, there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30 cruzeiros for weeding 249 braças. This man is the empreiteiro, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465]

tion plantation. At its highest level it is a form of unwritten social security which works well, supplementing the low wages which are paid throughout the area. Even on the factory plantations there is a mild form of paternalism, which is stronger in plantations nearer to the factory and to the home of the usineiro.

The migrant workers, however, do not fit into the pattern of paternalism, mostly because they do not seek it. Indirectly they receive its benefits, for if one of them is ill he can go to the contractor who will then go to the plantation owner or usineiro for medicine or whatever is needed. But in general the migrant laborers stay by themselves and ask little or nothing of their employers.

In addition to the protection provided by a paternalistic system, the workers have the right to at least half an acre of land on the plantation where they can plant and raise their subsistence crops. Often they also plant tobacco, both in these plots and in the small areas throughout the plantation where no sugar cane is planted, such as corners where the plow cannot penetrate. The tobacco is sold to traveling buyers who scour the area at the tobacco harvest season. The money thus gained belongs to the workers, and many of them say that cash earned in such a way provides the "extras" they like during the year, such as rum, cigarettes, a pair of earrings, or some perfume.

following days to make new supplies. On the return trip she brings wheat flour, peanuts, potatoes, and whatever is not available in Vila Recôncavo, as special orders (encomendas) for people in the town, who pay the price of the article plus a small percentage for her trouble in doing the shopping. 443 463

The people of Group 3 do most of their own labor; the men follow their trade while their womenfolk do the housework, care for the children, fetch water and firewood, and do their own laundry. This group also uses the batalhão for house building and repairing, although many employ the services of a carpenter to do the woodwork or a bricklayer to make a foundation, in contrast to the people of the preceding group, whose houses are usually built with a minimum of crude woodwork and without masonry foundations. The majority of men in this group, the fishermen, live in the lower part of town, in the areas known as BoqueirÃo, Caquende, and Cortume (see map of town). The others are scattered throughout the town, up the hill in back of the area of sobrados, and on the side of the hill sloping down to the beach. The fishermen have their own chapel built near the beach, which they support with the tithe (dizimo), a tenth of their earnings. The people in the fishing group seldom go up the hill to the older part of town, feeling that they do not belong there. 463 [462] [342] [361] [346] [764]

A few words need to be said about Group 4, which consists of thirty-one people who do not fit into the other three groups. Eleven of them, who listed themselves as unemployed, are unskilled persons, without a trade, and without a patron or service employment skill. For the most part they are women, and although an examination of the census data shows that they have no visible means of support, they do engage in subsistence activities such as carrying water, cutting spits for xangó, making dendê palm oil, or making fish nets, but not on a regular contract basis. Since they engage in a variety of small independent activities and work for different people at different times, they listed themselves as unemployed in the sense of being without a regular occupation. 463 464

Nine people in Group 4 lived in the town at the time of the census but worked at the Usina São Pedro. Three men worked on the sugar plantation nearest town, preferring to live in town rather than on the plantation, since the trip back and forth is so short. And, finally, the group includes eight people who were employed by the Institute of Vila Recôncavo as nurses, pharmacists, bookkeeper, and bartender. These people

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were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rarely requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are employed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season, the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the factory. However, the few people in town who have mules occasionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

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[Class D Families]

*565 592 848 remarkable fact about these female households is that mother and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or dries fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like Maria José, with children of their own.

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*565 592 735 888 Because of the poverty of these households, there is little or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "professional" beggars; there is no one seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

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*565 369 Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons already noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.

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can collect bananas, which should pay for the operating costs while waiting for the cacao to mature.

At the end of a five- or six-year period, the shade tree is usually large enough to provide sufficient shade, and the banana trees are gradually removed. At the same time the cacao begins to give its fruit, and one can then consider himself a cacauicultor.

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Several planters in Vila Recôncavo are at the banana-manioc planting stage, and have met with their first serious labor problem. No one wants to work in banana and manioc fields, as the work is arduous and slow. Machines are not available for the mechanical cultivation of manioc, so the work must be done by hand. The work is slowly being accomplished, but at costs which will make the manioc a considerable liability.

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Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, there is considerable interest in cacao in Vila Recôncavo, and cacao must be considered as an element of change in the community which will have far-reaching effects. The area of sugar production will be considerably reduced, requiring adjustments on the part of the factories, which represent large financial investments. Furthermore, cacao is a fairly simple product to process--its conversion into chocolate is usually done after export --and so it is quite likely that each plantation will return to the older aspect of the plantation, both growing and processing the crop, and become once again a highly self-sufficient unit. This would of course bring about a new alignment of socio-economic relations and would undoubtedly alter the community structure.

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A third principal cause of change in Vila Recôncavo is the growth of a new and potent industry within the community and throughout the county. This new industry is the nascent Brazilian petroleum industry. Exploratory work was done in Vila Recôncavo in 1950 and 1951 under the guidance of the Conselho Nacional de Petroleo. Since that date a nationalized company, Petrobrás, has been formed to exploit the oil fields which lie under the topsoil of the county of Vila Recôncavo. Petrobrás has brought in several hundred oil wells and has built roads, pipelines, storage tanks, and machine shops. Just outside the limits of the community, but within the county, it has built its oil refinery and has created a small new, modern city to house the technical workers of the refinery and the field. On land expropriated from the Usina São Pedro it has also con-

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structed a series of barracks, a recreation hall, a restaurant, and a service center for the unmarried field workers.

In spite of this, the changes in the community structure brought about by the petroleum industry have been as yet relatively few. The industry exists in the community as an intruder, not affecting communal life to any great extent, and not contributing any substantial local benefits. This is perhaps in part due to the fact that it is a nationalized company, with headquarters located in the city of Salvador, rather than a product of local efforts. The petroleum workers for the most part have not been drawn from the local labor force but have come from outside the county. It is almost as if a military base had been established in Vila Recôncavo on a temporary basis. [464]

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The effect on the town has been principally to increase the number of houses. The married workers of Petrobrás for the most part live in the town. Naturally there has occurred a broadening of point of view among the town dwellers as a result of social intercourse, as well as a certain new prosperity due to greater numbers. Nevertheless, there are still no private cars, buses, or public transportation in the county. The petroleum workers and their families go to Salvador whenever possible for shopping and amusements, rather than attempting to satisfy these needs in Vila Recôncavo, where public services, diversions, and so forth have continued to be almost nonexistent.

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To counterbalance the effect of prosperity brought to the town by increased population, the petroleum industry has had an adverse effect on the fishing activities of the townspeople. Many wells have been drilled in the shallow waters of the Bay of All Saints in front of the town. As a result of underwater explosions, the constant passage of rapid motor launches, and digging and dredging machines, the traditional fishing area of the town's fishermen has been rapidly depleted and its ecological balance destroyed. The fishermen are gradually turning away from fishing as an occupation and seeking other remunerative activity, either outside the community or in the petroleum industry and, to a slight extent, in the sugar industry. Others are turning to service occupations, such as bricklaying, as stopgap activities.

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Petrobrás to date has affected rural life very little. The planters of the area have profited to some extent because of the roads constructed by the company. It is now possible to

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Politically, this influx of new workers has had little influence. Local politics, at least, remain in the hands of the traditional landowners. However, national political parties other than that of the landowners are gaining force, especially the labor party, and within the near future there will undoubtedly be considerable modification in the voting patterns. The bulk of the rural population do not have the franchise because of their illiteracy. On the other hand, the petroleum workers, whose level of living is considerably higher than that of the rural population, have the franchise and according to law must exercise it.

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A major area of change in the community is the class structure. In its main outlines the class structure remains the same, but there are some differences in emphasis. Class A, the rural upper class, which also is part of the upper class in the capital city where it resides part of the year, has been somewhat depleted. The Coronel and his son and son-in-law and their families, who constituted the family owner-directors of Usina São Pedro, are no longer part of the scene. As a result of the shift in ownership and direction the former usineiro has been replaced by paid employees.[1] Although these employees are related to the principal members of the new owning firm by marriage, they are treated as employees rather than as family members. They do not have the "social standing," meaning tradition, background, extended family relations, and the scholarly training, which distinguish the former owners. Class A therefore is now represented only by the private plantation owners.

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On the other hand, Class B is slowly becoming larger in both the rural and the urban areas of the community, as a result of the addition of two new groups: the members of the new factory organization, and the petroleum workers with their much higher standard of living, considerably higher education, and their steady employment as members of a new bureaucracy, Petrobrás. Unmarried workers belonging to Petrobrás are to some extent seeking marital alliances with girls of the area, especially from the factory nucleus and from the town of Vila Recôncavo. In some cases legal and religious marriages have taken place. In other cases the couple has simply

1. The term usineiro is usually limited to the owner-director who is the founder of the factory, or is the son of the founder. When the director is a paid employee, he is just "the boss."

ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

3s Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1950-1951) 1983 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.27 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher.

[2] In 1823 this same *engenho* had 48 house slaves and 133 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago* (Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
565 the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
463 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
[582] Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of
463 Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned
● 464 on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations
[427] to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale; known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
567 abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.

249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
567 failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

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[1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 28 ff.

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In the very large *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation. The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have electricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the relations among the racial groups of the zone.

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III. Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints. The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, comprises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county seat.[1]

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It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the land of one of these plantations and the rest of the town area is owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the *saveiros* (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is not the major supply source even for these groups which live near enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

3t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

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The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have residences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

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The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' *(o povo*, or simply *gente)*, fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

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The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

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town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area.

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent.

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such

[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the *usina*, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and *usina* workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *rastagueiros* at the harvest-planting season.

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[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money.
[461] The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked
[162] on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

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8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato* and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem morenínho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

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A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element —that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*. They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain disprasal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

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their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their [464] evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart [466] from the permanent workers. [249]

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of [157] American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with [461] him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident [464] workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. [466] They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a 162 sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

[1] Little males. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulatto'. [829]

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The emergence of new employment opportunities, especially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

[City of Salvador]

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks. Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual with African mythology and religious practice, evidences of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies have been carried on in the same sacred place for many decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases.

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province 147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Brazil being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favorable conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor supply which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expeditions penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, familiar with only the crudest forms of agriculture, seminomadic, and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437–96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597–655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escravidão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid.*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

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tation life as they were at home in the near-by bush, proved inefficient and undependable workers.

Just the reverse was characteristic of the Africans, with whom the Portuguese had for some time been acquainted. As early as 1433,[7] Negro slaves had been imported into Portugal to labor on the large estates of the military and religious orders, particularly in the Algarves. Moreover, the West Coast of Africa lay within easy reach of Brazil, directly opposite its central and northern coasts.

The exact date when African importation began is unknown, although it is thought that the fleet which Martim Affonso de Souza in 1531 encountered in the bay at Bahia was engaged in the transport of slaves.[8] Sometime later in this same century[9] the slave trade began to gather momen-

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[7] Prado cites a statement from Georg Friederici (*Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europaer* [3 vols.; Stuttgart, 1925–36]) to the effect that the first Africans were imported into Portugal in 1433, instead of 1441, as commonly thought. See J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as capitanias do norte do Brasil* (2 vols.; São Paulo, 1939–41), I, 250 n.

[8] Malheiro, *op. cit.*, III, 6; cf. Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio, 1937), p. 281.

[9] In a letter dated 1552 Padre Nobrega refers to having requested and received three slaves from Guinea. These arrived with others on orders from the king (see Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva, *Memorias historicas e politicas da provincia da Bahia* [4 vols.; Bahia, 1919–33], I, 390). In another letter written June 5, 1559, Padre Nobrega refers to eight "Negros de Guiné" on the estate of one Andre Gavião at Bahia (see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 442). In 1583 a certain Salvador Correa de Sá made a contract with João Gutteres Valerio in which he agreed to purchase every slave brought from Africa in his ship (F. Borges de Barros, *Novos documentos para a historia colonial* [Bahia, 1931], p. 77). Pedro Calmon (*op. cit.*, p. 178) gives 1548 as the year in which the traffic began, and Arthur Ramos (*The Negro in Brazil* [Washington, 1939], p. 3) says that the first shipment of slaves direct from the Guinea coast is thought to have occurred in 1538 in a vessel belonging to one Jorge Lopes Bixorda.

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to live together because they mutually support one another. Similarly, different racial stocks often occupy to mutual advantage the same habitat because each fits into a different niche in an interdependent symbiotic order. The fundamental problem is that of survival. The Portuguese at Bahia to a considerable extent resolved this problem by the development of an economy based upon plantation agriculture and slave labor.

A considerable number of Negroes died while being transported from Africa. Others subsequently perished from the ravages of cholera, yellow fever, and other epidemics. A few committed suicide or led religiously motivated uprisings against their masters. But the major portion were readily incorporated into the plantation system. Centuries of familiarity with the slave tradition of their African cultures and, in many cases, familiarity with the slave status itself probably made their adjustment to a slave system in the new land less difficult.

Most of the Negroes entering and remaining in the vicinity of Bahia were employed in the planting, cultivation, harvesting, processing, and marketing of sugar cane and tobacco. A limited number were engaged in cattle-raising. They also supplied the necessary artisan and domestic labor on the plantations.

Within the city of Bahia itself, as in other Brazilian ports, most of the slaves were engaged in domestic service. However, in addition, a modified form of slavery existed. Many blacks, known as *negros de ganho*, were employed as porters, stevedores, ironworkers, masons, carpenters, carriage- and cabinet-makers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, silversmiths, lithographers, sculptors in wood and stone, small shopkeepers, street merchants, etc. They were semi-inde-

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rapi, and São Francisco, a *Sociedade Libertadora* freed 122 slaves in one day. Scores of these societies operated throughout Brazil.[72]

Dr. João Garcez dos Santos was the first Bahian *fazendeiro* (planter) to exchange slave labor for free. After spending some years in Europe studying agriculture, he returned to Brazil and, in 1864, bought an *engenho* called Pimental, in the *termo* of São Francisco. He freed all the slaves except eight domestic servants and paid these freedmen wages, retaining a portion of their earnings until he had been recompensed for their original cost. During the subsequent year he produced with free labor two hundred boxes of sugar. Three years later, he "freed the womb" of his eight female domestic servants, and, on his death in 1874, he set at liberty all the slaves which he had inherited from his father (a total of about sixty persons) on condition that they continue working for wages on the *engenho* for five years.[73]

In 1868 the Senhoras Condessa de Barral and Pedra

liberated by will, and the Cantagallo plantation given them for a home; Barão de Dias, 163 slaves liberated, who remain established on his plantation as laborers." In 1887 Anselmo da Fonseca wrote: "As to the *cartas de alforria* granted by slaveholders themselves, it is well known that these have always appeared in greater or lesser number in the country, and that from 1880 on they have multiplied greatly and have now become quite numerous, thanks to the powerful influence of that propaganda which has contributed so much to the elevation of the moral sentiments of the Brazilian people."

[72] On September 7, 1869, an emancipation society was organised in Bahia "with the noble purpose of ending slavery in Bahia," and by March 1, 1874, it had conferred 267 "Letters of Liberty," 89 of which were "granted gratuitously in its name," and 178 by means of its own funds, the amount thus employed totaling 58,289 milreis (Alvares do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 181). This organization was named A Sociedade Libertadora Sete de Setembro ("The Seventh of September Liberation Society") in honor of the day on which the independence of Brazil was declared.

[73] Fonseca, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–22.

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from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Brazilian independence seems to have buried most of the vestiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the slave question or openly opposed abolition.[93] Most of the large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the provincial legislature and national parliament opposed the abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated the Liberal party.[94] However, many of the slaveholders appear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

[93] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[94] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brazil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322).

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297).

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ers; some of them accumulated considerable sums of money. Occasionally, as we have noted, they owned slaves[100] or invested their savings in the slave trade, sending money, arms, and trade goods to some convenient individual in Africa to "get up raids in their old homes or amongst neighboring tribes."[101] In Minas Geraes free black laborers came to own mines like Encardideira and Palacio Velho.[102] In Bahia they maintained their own regiment,[103] fraternal orders, and religious brotherhoods, each limited in membership exclusively to Negroes of pure African descent.[104] Many made sustained efforts to educate their children, and a few even had sons in the priesthood who, since the bishops of Brazil did not confer them, took their orders in São Thomé.[105]

But the free Negro, in competition with the European

[100] Walsh, a visitor to Brazil in the early nineteenth century, writes: "Next came an old free Negro woman, with a young slave of her own sex and color carrying her bundle. . . . . Her young slave was her only property, and she made a good livelihood by hiring her out as a beast of burden, to whoever wanted her, and for whatever purpose" (*op. cit.*, II, 18).

[101] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[102] Gilberto Freyre, *Sobrados e mucambos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 73.

[103] "There are two of these regiments for the province of Pernambuco . . . . distinguished from each other by the names Old Henriques and New Henriques. . . . . I have seen some portion of one of these regiments, in Recife. . . . . They were dressed in white cloth uniforms, turned up with scarlet: and they looked very soldier-like. They were in tolerable discipline. . . . . They acted with an appearance of zeal and the desire of excelling. Those of which I speak formed a finer body of men than any other soldiers which I had an opportunity of seeing in that country. . . . . These men receive no pay, so that their neat appearance on such occasions bespeaks a certain degree of wealth among them" (Koster, *op. cit.*, II, 182–83).

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[104] See, in this connection, *Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus das Necessidades e Redempção* (Bahia, 1929); Joventino Silvino da Costa, *Relatorio da Sociedade Protectora dos Desvalidos, 1832–1932* (Bahia, 1934).

[105] Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia de João VI* (Bahia, 1928), p. 173.

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Government employ was for a long time denied to the black.[110] In colonial Brazil marriage into upper-class white families was zealously restricted to individuals of pure European descent,[111] and at least one case is on record of an Indian being seriously rebuked for having married a Negro woman.[112]

[110] There was "a separate justice" in colonial Brazil for cases relating to "Indians, mulattoes, and Negroes" (Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil*, p. 140).

[111] "It was this preoccupation with purity of lineage and white blood in their prospective sons-in-law which, in those provinces whose development was more irregular, like that of Minas, made the problem of marriage so difficult. In Pernambuco and São Paulo the problem was resolved by marrying cousins with cousins: a custom which gradually made of the early families almost a single strain" (Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 152).

[112] The eighth vice-*rei*, Marques de Lavradio, in an order dated August 6, 1771, removed an Indian from the post of *capitão-mor* for having married a Negro woman and, as the order said, "thus tarnished your blood and shown yourself unworthy of office" (Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [2d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 290).

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is said, did not usually exist in Brazil much longer than the third generation.[32] In Minas Geraes, in 1835, while importations from Africa were still large, there were 170,000 mulattoes to 305,000 blacks.[33]

Thus miscegenation has gone on in Brazil in an unobtrusive way over a long period of time. In few places in the world, perhaps, has the interpenetration of peoples of divergent racial stocks proceeded so continuously and on so extensive a scale.[34]

One circumstance in Bahia still favorable to miscegenation is the system of household service universal in upper-class, principally white, families. Whereas no inconsiderable portion of the domestic labor in the United States, at least in northern areas, is white, consisting largely of peasant immigrant women from Europe, household labor in Bahia is almost invariably black or dark mulatto. For example, of 250 servant women noted, 197 were black, 47 were mulatto (predominantly dark), 4 were *cafuso*,[34a] and only 2 were white. In other words, only 0.8 per cent appeared to be of unmixed white descent. For this reason, interbreeding between males in white upper-class families and servant girls leads almost always to black-white, or at least mulatto-white, crosses.

The disposition to tolerate intermixture with the African

[32] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 163. [33] *Ibid.*

[34] Calmon writes (*ibid.*, p. 158): "Nenhum outro povo tão ligeiro marchou para a estabilização de um tipo procedente dos mais opostos fatores; principalmente em nenhum outro as propriedades unitivas do idioma, da religião, do meio fisico, se conjugaram tão intimamente para uniformizar, num imenso territorio (Luc Durtain disse que o Brasil é um dos cinco paises verdadeiramente cosmicos) a descendencia de inumeros troncos, celtico, negroide, aborigene."

[34a] Indian-Negro mixed-blood.

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the
/47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the
*563 441 578 829 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are responsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 441 464 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but, since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 441 464 472 829 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility, but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants, numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services, transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large /48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that they help their colored employees and promote them to the secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very [191] [186] large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on [555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts, sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to colored people."

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*563 441 472 829 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had always been its confidential agent and who proved in this situation that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant, [452] owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was • [464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and did not even allow them to work in their offices." The ownership [581] of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route by means of marriages between the most capable employees and the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover, in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who, with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 441 472 871 555 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says, he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some employees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia, even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into commerce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves [464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to improve, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of young colored men coming from poor families and from a very low level of education. These young people therefore have only minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital invested or on administrative knowledge.

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[SALVADOR]

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The large stores dealing in textiles, fashions, jewelry, and women's articles prefer, for the sale of the displays, employees who "look well," a euphemism for designating persons who are white or approaching it in appearance. Only a few years ago one of the largest stores in the city put an advertisement in the papers offering positions to saleswomen "of sound health, of white color, and at least 18 years of age." An informant relates that her sister, in spite of finos features, was not accepted in a very important store. In vain she made herself up attractively, arranged her hair, which is glossy and beautiful, and dressed with elegance; she was not accepted. The manageress told her that she preferred saleswomen with light hair. "The real reason," our informant explains, "is that the clientele does not like to be waited on by saleswomen of dark complexion. The colored girls, when they read announcements in the newspapers asking for employees of good appearance, do not even try to get the job, for they know very well that Whites are preferred; it is only due to great influence that they may be accepted." Another girl with moderately pigmented skin and slightly curly hair presented herself as a secretary in a large store, but the person in charge of personnel told her (and other candidates of the same type as she) that she was very sorry, but the firm preferred light girls. Someone who was present at the interview declared that it was a Portuguese employee associated with the firm who introduced this "racism" in that establishment. In a very famous firm dealing in women's articles, belonging to foreigners, only morenas finas or Whites are accepted. Almost all the employees of both sexes in the stores on the most central and the most important streets are white or morenos. Even in the more modest commercial spheres the situation is almost the same. In approximately 150 small or medium-sized stores dealing in textiles, haberdashery, women's articles, clothing and household articles, electrical goods and hardware, footwear, drugs, foodstuffs and baked goods, on a business street frequented by workers and the poorest population, /50/ not one black person or dark mulatto was seen as manageress, cashier, or saleswoman. "In any case," says a female

[SALVADOR]

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informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries that are not as high as those the young men demand."

The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the following:

Position in commerce	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Merchants:						
Men . . .	28	-	12	6	-	46
Women .	1	-	-	-	-	1
Employees in commerce:						
Men	80	10	63	42	13	208
Women. . .	8	-	8	2	-	18
Total . . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1)

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.

[SALVADOR]

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"In the banks dark individuals can no longer have careers," say our informants. In an important national bank, according to some, Blacks or very pigmented mulattoes are not admitted; in the branches that this bank has in the city colored employees are few, and these in any case are very light. This selection occurs in the competition for admission, the candidates of dark color being examined with great strictness. In other banking establishments one notes a less marked discrimination. Although /51/ the directors and the managers of the local banks are all white, more or less finos, several employees of mixed blood are accepted there. In the offices of two of these banks one counts 13 light mulattoes and morenos, two dark mulattoes, and 21 Whites. But access to the offices of the directorship or management is very difficult, because these organizations, aside from the fact that they constitute in a certain sense traditional enterprises of some families, demand that one have at his disposal deposited capital, in the form of shares, in the companies managed by the banks, which is difficult for young colored men."

A public official therefore had valid reasons for saying that "the colored people occupy few positions in commerce."

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/52/ Politics

Every Brazilian who has reached the age of 21 may be registered as a voter, provided that he can read and write and that he is engaged in a lawful occupation. His physical type is of no importance: the law does not make any distinction and the officials in charge of voting questions do not make any difficulties about registering colored persons of either sex. Everyone may thus enjoy the right to vote and to be elected.

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The number of voters in the State of Bahia is 875,000, in the city itself 139,000, a large proportion of which is colored people. And the number of the latter is increasing rapidly, for the social ascent of the proletarian masses in Brazil comes about by the acquisition of economic advantages and guarantees, but also and above all by the prize of political awareness and by access to civic rights. From this point of view politics is in the process